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ABSTRACT

By focusing on social and cultural backgrounds of the five U.S.-affiliated Micronesian states, this document highlight issues that pertain to education in this region. The first sections deal with the political history of the region, emphasizing the period of U.S. administration from the 1940's to the 1970's. The history of instititonalized education is also outlined, describing political, economic, and demographic factors that affect the future course of Micronesia. The document then examines ethnographic research on the various cultures of Micronesia. Emphasis is placed on aspects of traditional culture which particularly have an impact on education: traditional learning structures; factors in communication and self-presentation; and attitudes toward authority, work, and cultural contact. Traditional leadership structures and status relationships, now competing with the cash economy and status through wealth and education, are also discussed. Separate subsections deal with each of the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae) as well as the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Belau, the Territory of Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The final sections address education in Micronesia, including educational needs and areas for future research and development. A population chart and tables showing trends in urbanization, age distribution, the relationship among languages, and language spoken in the home are provided. A bibliography listing over 180 resources concludes the document. (LH)

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CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN MICRONESIA

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CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN MICRONESIA

The three west Pacific archipelagos of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall islands are home to 239,000 U.S. nationals in five distinct political entities: the Territory of Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the emerging freely associated Republic of Belau (formerly Palau), the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia. With the exception of Guam--a U.S. territory since 1898--all are former members of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), established as a U.S. protectorate following World War II. Each of the latter is undergoing a fundamental change in its relation with the United States, assuming more autonomy and local responsibility for basic political, economic, and social services formerly federally administered through the TTPI. All, including Guam, are re-examining the terms in which they can balance development that enhances standards of living with support of traditional Micronesian values and culture.

These questions directly effect education. The scope of educational services, the content of the curriculum, the balance of academic and vocational curricula, research and development plans--all these are contingent upon priorities set for use of limited (and, in the longer term, declining) federal subsidies, as well as the premium placed by each affiliated state upon cultural retention and support for indigenous life ways, and its emphasis on and resources available for economic development. This essay offers social and cultural backgrounds on the five U.S.-affiliated Micronesian states in order to highlight issues that pertain to education and which may serve to illumine educational decision-making in the near future.

The first sections below focus on the political history of the region, emphasizing the period of U.S. administration. They draw distinctions in the histories of European colonization as they influence contemporary political, economic, and social situations and inform the recent decisions that the TTPI islands have made regarding membership in the Federated States of Micronesia and their political status vis-a-vis the U.S. The history of institutionalized education is also outlined, describing political, economic, and demographic factors that will affect its future course.

The essay then examines ethnographic research on the various cultures of Micronesia, as they share common values and traditions and as each area is unique in its culture. Emphasis is placed on aspects of traditional culture which particularly impact education: traditional learning structures; factors in communication and self-presentation;

attitudes toward authority, work, and cultural contact. Traditional leadership structures and status relationships, now competing with the cash economy and status through wealth and education, are also discussed.

The final section addresses the educational implications of the ethnographic and historical backgrounds of the U.S.-affiliated Micronesian states. It points out educational needs articulated by Micronesian leaders and educational observers and suggests areas for further research and development.

General Description: Land and Population

The three million square miles of Pacific in which the 2,100 Micronesian islands lie include 923 square miles of land which make up the five U.S.-affiliated states. Less than 100 of these islands are habitable. The Marianas archipelago, in the northwest, is now organized as the Territory of Guam, on the large, southern-most island, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. This region remains the most closely affiliated with the U.S. The inhabitants of the Caroline Islands and of the Marshall Islands have approved relationships of free association with the United States as three distinct political entities: the Republic of Belau, in the far west of the Carolines; the Federated States of Micronesia, encompassing the rest of the Caroline chain and consisting of, from west to east, the four States of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae (formerly Kusaie); and the Marshall Islands, eastern-most region of American Micronesia. With the exception of Guam, each political entity consists of a number of islands, many uninhabited and some separated by hundreds of miles of ocean.

The far westerly location of the Micronesian islands places them at near opposite sides of the earth from the eastern U.S. No working hours on the Micronesian islands overlap with the office hours of federal headquarters in Washington, D.C. District centers are now connected by jet aircraft on regular schedules, however outer islands may be reached only by ship, with irregularities common. Even on the larger and more populous islands many settlements are reached only by boat. Airmail from the U.S. takes 6 to 10 days at first class rate.

Guam, the largest and most populous of the 94 inhabited islands, accounts for about one-quarter of the total land mass. Guam is also home to almost one-half of the total population of American Micronesia. Guamanians number 106,000, compared with 133,000 for the former Trust Territory members. Table I (next page) details the population densities of the Micronesian states, and the rise in population over the post World War II period. In some regions population doubled in the decade 1970-80.

This same period has seen population relocation, with a trend toward urbanization, in Guam and in the TTPI (see Table II). The urbanization figures are not as drastic as many writers of the early 1970s predicted.

TABLE I: POPULATION, POPULATION GROWTH, AND POPULATION DENSITY

	GUAM	NORTHERN MARIANAS	MARSHALLS	BELAU	FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA					TOTAL
					YAP	TRUK	PONAPE	KOSRAE	FSM TOTAL	
POPULATION, 1980	105,979	16,780	30,873	12,116	8,100	37,488	22,081	5,491	73,160	238,908
PERCENT INCREASE, 1970 - 1980	+24.7	+74.1	+21.4	+42.4	*	+119.7	— +109.5 —			
POPULATION DENSITY, SQ. MILE	507.1	91.2	441.0	63.1	176.1	765.1	164.8	130.7		

* No Data
Data: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

TABLE II: TREND TO URBANIZATION

	Guam	Northern Marianas	Marshalls/Belau/FSM
Percent Urban 1970	25.5	16.0	28.4
Percent Urban 1980	39.5	36.1	30.3
Increase 1970-80	14.0	20.1	1.9

Data: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

At that time it was feared that the newly-educated masses of young people would refuse to return to their home islands after study in the district secondary schools. Over 60% of TTPI high school graduates appear to return to their home villages, taking up employment when available, or resuming the traditional subsistence lifestyle. However, there are unemployed youth living on the margins of all the urbanized centers with predictable social problems arising from their displacement.

American Micronesia faces a dilemma now, as it recognizes more fully its unique educational needs and as the programs upon which its expansion was based are eliminated or reduced. The demographics of population in Micronesia are drastically different from the United States. As the mainland has experienced a declinng birthrate and concomitant decline in need for teachers, schools, and educational support services, the Micronesian region has entered a period of unprecedented population growth, and renewed need for extensive expansion and restructuring of its educational system. Teacher training programs for instance, have been dropped as United States post-baby boom teachers went unemployed; Micronesia, however, requires increasing numbers of teachers each year.

In 1980, the median age in the 50 states was 30.0 years. In stark contrast, Table III (below) shows the median in Guam was 22.2 and in the former Trust Territories it ranged from a low of 14.8 in the Marshalls to 19.6 in the Northern Marianas. Contrasting again with the mainland states' concern with the rising proportion of elderly and retired citizens, none of the Micronesian areas had more than 5.5% of its citizens over 65 years of age.

These rising population figures represent a remarkable recovery from severe population decline throughout the years of colonial contact, declines that continued, for parts of the TTPI, through the period of Japanese occupation in the first half of this century. Guam, for instance, is believed to have had a pre-contact population of 30,000 to 40,000. These numbers declined to as few as 3,500 during the Spanish occupation. Guamanians numbered only 9,700 in 1901, the first U.S.

TABLE THREE: AGE DISTRIBUTION, 1980

	GUAM	NORTHERN MARIANAS	MARSHALLS	BELAU	FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA YAP	TRUK	PONAPE	KOSRAE
Percent Under 18 yrs.	41.2	47.1	56.5	47.4	48.3	53.2	53.7	54.9
Percent 18-64 yrs.	56.0	50.0	40.4	47.0	46.2	43.4	43.0	41.9
Percent Over 64 yrs.	2.8	2.9	3.1	5.3	5.5	3.4	3.2	3.2
Median Age	22.2 yrs.	19.6 yrs.	14.8 yrs.	18.8 yrs.	18.9 yrs.	16.5 yrs.	16.2 yrs.	15.9 yrs.

Data: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Census. By 1950 the Chamorro people had more than regained their historic maximum, then numbering 59,500. The population rose to 85,000 in 1970 and stood at 106,000 in the most recent census.

History of Colonization

The Chamorro people who constitute the indigenous inhabitants of the Mariana Islands chain (and the Belauans of the western Carolines) stem from the Western, or Indonesian, branch of the Austronesian family, related to the Philippine peoples, rather than to their Micronesian neighbors. The Chamorros' distinctiveness has been reinforced by their colonization history. The Marianas were the first area to experience intensive European contact, beginning in the latter seventeenth century with Spanish mission settlements and expanding as the Guam port of Agana became a stop-over in the route from the Mexico to the Philippines. In the nineteenth century Catholic missions were extended to Belau and Yap. Their conversion effort was successful, but they did not leave the deep impact on those cultures that their 200-year rule achieved in the Marianas.

The Carolines and Marshalls did not undergo sustained European settlement until the ninetheenth century. The Marshalls became a whaling ship stopover in the 1830s and a German colony at mid-century. Some main islands in the eastern Carolines were hosts to Protestant American missionaries by the 1860s. It was not until the German administration,

at the turn of the twentieth century, that profound economic or political change was experienced.

At the close of the Spanish-American War the United States claimed Guam. The Spanish sold their other territories to Germany, which purchased the Northern Marianas and Carolines to consolidate its Micronesian territories in 1899. The Germans put an administrative system into place that made local villages responsible to the colonial regime for the first time. The U.S. did not significantly develop Guam, although naval facilities were installed. The Americans instituted an English-language school system, replacing the elementary Chamorro-language educational system that the Catholic church had conducted.

In 1914 the Japanese occupied all of Micronesia, with the exception of American Guam. The region was placed under Japan's protection at the close of World War I. During this period the wholesale transformation of Micronesia from a subsistance, rural, collective economy began to take place. Because the islands had all experienced drastic population loss through exposure to European-borne diseases, the Japanese imported thousands of Japanese, Philippine, Okinawan, and Korean laborers for their projects. They regarded the area as a territory to be integrated into the Empire and began intensive exploitation of resources--most notably the phosphate deposits on the Palauan island of Angaur--and development of extensive plantations for cash cropping, especially sugar, and a deep sea fishing industry.

By 1940 over half the entire population of Micronesia was Japanese, with Saipan over 90% and Belau over 60% Japanese. This does not represent the large numbers of alien workers of other ethnicities brought in by that regime. Guam, the only non-Japanese dependency in the region, fell to the Japanese immediately after Pearl Harbor, becoming a major center of military and economic activity.

The Japanese also instituted a system of near-universal primary education, based on principles of strict discipline, moral and physical vigor, and loyalty to the Empire. Over half of the class time was devoted to study of Japanese language. The indigenous peoples were segregated into separate schools and given only three years of formal schooling, although a few were further trained at a vocational school at Koror, in Belau. Some elders still retain Japanese language skills today. Certain groups recall the strict discipline of the Japanese educational system with admiration and have tried to reinstitute it as native education in recent years.

U.S. Administration: 1940s and 1950s

The infrastructure that the Japanese had developed on the primary islands of Micronesia was to a large extent destroyed during the retaking of the region during 1944 and 1945. The last year of the Pacific War

was conducted out of bases in the Marianas and the Marshalls. After the war the U.S. placed the territory under Naval administration, deporting thousands of Japanese, though significant numbers who had intermarried with the native population were permitted to remain. In 1947 the U.N. granted the U.S. authority over the islands of the Northern Marianas (Guam was restored to American hands as a separate territory), the Marshalls, and the Carolines. Initial U.S. administration, through the Department of the Navy, was centered at Guam, and later moved to Saipan in the Northern Marianas. In 1952 jurisdiction was transferred to the Department of the Interior, although much of the northern region remained under military restrictions.

The Naval administrative period saw restoration of civilian life after severe devastation--the first in the history of the region--and the Navy set up delivery services of the basic health and welfare essentials. The Americans, like the Japanese before them, based their administration on the system of local magistrates that the Germans had initiated. While in the earlier period local chiefs had often served in the capacity of magistrate representing their communities to the colonial government and serving as conduit for administrative orders, goods, and services from the administration headquarters, the Americans imposed a separation of civil from traditional leadership. In some areas this led to severe loss of stature for traditional leaders, who were now no longer responsible for distribution of goods and organization of large-scale projects. In other communities, however, it seems to have led to a complimentary political system, with chieftains retaining full authority in areas of traditional import such as land tenure decisions, allocation of surplus foodstuffs, and local justice. Those selected for administrative positions were usually younger, Japanese-educated men; their youth, and sometimes their change-orientation, caused stress among communities accustomed to decisionmaking only by the resident elders.

In Guam the advisory legislature was resumed and it served as a model for the Trust Territory Districts as well. Gradually certain administrative responsibilities passed into Micronesian hands, although American governors continued in Guam until the 1960s and the leadership in the TTPI has shifted even more recently.

As a strategic center the Micronesian territories were re-developed with large sums of Navy money during the five years following establishment of the Trust Territory. But by the early 1950s American military concerns had shifted to northeast Asia and Navy interests were concentrated in the several locations where there were stopover ports or bases. The TTPI was turned over to civilian responsibility in 1952 and Micronesia entered a period of neglect and low funding at the hands of the Department of Interior. The northern sections which remained under military jurisdiction were isolated for a time from the rest of the region.

The post-war administration had proclaimed the importance of universal education and, especially, teaching of the English language.

Under the Navy, and subsequently under the Interior Department, a rudimentary educational structure was put into place. Primary schools were established on the main islands and, gradually, District secondary schools were opened.

Unlike Japanese educational system--centrally controlled and standardized throughout Micronesia--the Navy proposed that communities develop their own schools with U.S. assistance. Individuals with the rudimentary skills attained from the three-year Japanese education, and especially those who had gone on to vocational training, were recruited to assist as community contacts, administrators, and teachers. Indigenous teachers were offered salaries paid by the central administration from taxes collected throughout the TTIP if their villages would construct a school and bring together a group of pupils. Later, the collection of taxes was restored to the local communities who levied fees to pay their own teachers and supply whatever building and instructional materials were not received from the District headquarters. Small, grassroofed schools appeared in villages on many islands of the TTPI and rudimentary instruction in English and basic skills was conducted. This system was extended to major settlements only; outer-island and small-village children often did not have local schools. If relatives were resident near a school, children would be sent from smaller communities to attend. Funds for materials, construction, and training declined after the Navy administrative period.

The system was certainly not equivalent to American educational standards, attendance was somewhat haphazard, and conduct of the school dependent upon good weather conditions in the open-air buildings. But it was a system supported by and responsible to the Micronesians themselves, paralleling the local-level autonomy that characterizes schooling in the U.S. Similarly, it evoked local support and interest. This system changed drastically in the early 1960s.

U.S. Administration: 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s the islands of the Trust Territory experienced radical change in governmental policy. The Kennedy administration, alarmed at the conditions in health, education, and economy in the TTPI, initiated a massive effort to bring the island territory closer to accepted standards for the U.S. This crash program was designed to create educational circumstances necessary for success of American economic development projects. As announced by President Kennedy in 1962: "The accelerated program that is contemplated will place great emphasis on education, for, in our opinion, education is the key to all further progress--political, economic, and social. . .I look for striking improvement in education at all levels in the Trust Territory. . . ."

The Kennedy administration followed recommendations laid out in a secret, commissioned "Solomon Report"-- a report which based its educational plan on a desire to enhance the Americanization of

Micronesia, with the view of affecting a positive outcome for continued U.S. hegemony in future status elections. That report advocated "United States-oriented curriculum" and "patriotic ritual" in the classroom, as well as education of promising Micronesian young people in U.S. colleges. Specifically, the Kennedy program called for universal education through grade six, concentrated study of English and use of English as the language of instruction after the third year, and importation of American teachers to institute the vastly expanded educational program. The curriculum planned was almost entirely academic. Major economic development projects were instituted as well, but the educational program was the linchpin of the Americanization effort. The first contract teachers arrived in 1961; by 1966 over half of all teachers in the Trust Territory were American--contract employees of the TTPI administration or Peace Corps volunteers. The federal investment in Micronesia increased exponentially, reaching $138 million in 1979. The TTPI education budget grew from $569,000 in 1962 to $3,866,000 in 1966, and continued to increase yearly. Education became the largest employer in the TTPI, employing over one-third of all workers in an increasingly cash economy.

This educational transformation was felt profoundly, even in the most remote areas of the Trust Territory. Primary schools were erected in every settlement large enough to supply pupils. Many of these were areas in which no intimate contact with Europeans had been experienced before. Suddenly American contract or Peace Corps teachers took up residence and began directing education of the young. With the new emphasis on education as the route to success, families were encouraged to send any promising young people a larger community or district center for continued education. This separated them from their home communities in critical formative years, undermining traditional authority, and creating a trend toward urbanization which had both cultural and economic consequences far beyond the numbers of the students themselves.

And, very importantly, the new program removed schooling from local control. Beginning in 1961 when the TTPI assumed central control of education, the Saipan headquarters began to standardize the school systems and take on more responsibility for school support. Tax structure in the TTPI was also revised so that less monies were available to municipal authorities; the money flowed into and out through TTPI coffers. It assumed the privileges of the financial sponsor, by 1964 culminating in complete assumption of payment of teachers' salaries and concommitant right to hire, transfer, and remove staff. Previously local authorities had controlled, or at least been consulted on such matters. This move, added to the increasingly Americanized curriculum and pedagogy, thwarted the integration of school and community which had been a major source of support in the earlier years. Micronesians now came to think of education as a responsibility of the distant American authorities, neither structured to their needs nor requiring their cooperation.

In 1967 the TTPI administration began an expansion of post-elementary education on outlying islands, some of which was intended to be vocational in orientation. The mandate of six years universal education was eventually extended to eight years, and more and more were students encouraged to seek continued academic training.

Higher education in the Trust territory had been centered at the Pacific Islands Central School on Truk, which served the entire TTPI, initially as a teacher training school and gradually expanded to a college-preparatory curriculum. From 1962-66 the TTPI also ran a Micronesian Teacher Education Center at Ponape, specializing in training for teaching English as a second language. Increasing numbers of TTPI high school graduates sought further study at the University of Guam. In the early 1970s funds from federal programs for the educationally disadvantaged attracted thousands of Micronesians, with little prior orientation or on-site assistance, to Hawaiian and mainland U.S. colleges.

School curricula for the TTPI and Guam were adopted primarily from the California state system, without any adaptation for the Micronesian setting. The program was academic, not vocational. Discarded Dick and Jane readers, for example, were supplemented only very gradually with materials prepared for Micronesian schools. Peace Corps volunteers began some of this work. It has been augmented in recent years by a number of bilingual and bicultural education projects and efforts by District school administrations. The implications of superimposing a state-side pedagogy on the islands will be addressed below, when the forms of interaction in traditional Micronesian learning and group behavior have been outlined. In recent years, especially as Micronesians have replaced Americans in administration and teaching positions, the trend toward Americanization through curriculum has been moderated.

Political Change

These young societies are undergoing a new period of political and economic transition. Pending before the Congress this spring are agreements signed by the U.S. and the Trust Territories which will bring the U.N. Trusteeship to an end. The TTPI districts have begun or are beginning governance as the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas and the former TTPI Districts which have elected for free association with the U.S.--Belau, the Marshalls, and the Federated States of Micronesia. Guamanians, while they have rejected any alteration in their territorial status, are also experiencing changed circumstances from declining military revenues, reductions in federal programs, and the emergence of the four sister states.

Under impetus of the Solomon Report's argument that the U.S. should seek early termination of the Trusteeship in order to secure a new, permanent relationship with the Micronesian territores, the consultative Council of Micronesia was granted internal legislative responsibilities and, as the Congress of Micronesia, in 1965 the parties began exploration

of means by which the trust territories might achieve some form of self-governance. The following decade and a half went by before the entire Trust Territory had voted in referenda on termination agreements and, in the meantime, the Territorial unit had experienced three seccessions. The original U.S. offer of permanent commonwealth status was rejected by most districts in 1970 and the delegates, in response, developed the idea of free association, modelled on termination agreements between New Zealand and its Pacific protectorates.

The Northern Mariana Islands (NMI) District, the sole region to approve the commonwealth proposal, applied for separate negotiations in 1972 and secured ratification of the agreement and a constitution for the Commonwealth in 1975. Since that time the U.S. has conducted relations with the Northern Marianas as a separate political entity. Its populace are citizens of the U.S., with privileges and obligations similar to those familiar from the long-standing commonwealth status of Puerto Rico. The agreement calls for continued military installations of Tinian, as well as Commonwealth adherence to U.S. foreign policy.

The federal principle was at the center of the negotiations in the following three years, as the Districts of Belau and the Marshall Islands, in view of their population sizes and economic conditions, grew increasingly concerned about their status in the future federation. Separatist movements in both districts rejected the proposed constitutions in 1978, while the peoples of Yap, Truk, and Ponape Districts approved.

The latter, reorganized as the four states of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae, ratified a Compact for the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) in a 1983 plebicite, 79% voting "yes." Their constitution calls for a high level of state responsibility, for redistribution of tax revenues to the state of origin, and state charters that define governmental structure and the role of traditional leaders in governmental affairs. The Federated States of Micronesia will receive $1 billion from the U.S. government over the next fifteen years, in return for adherence to American foreign policy and exclusion of other nations from the region. The agreement states that no lands within the FSM will be requested for U.S. military use.

The Marshall Islanders drew up and approved a constitution and a separate compact of free association. A 1983 plebicite in the Marshalls ratified the new arrangement, but by a far lower majority--58%. The peoples impacted by the atmospheric atomic tests of the 1940s and 1950s and landowners from Kwajalein Island, displaced by the Air Force missile testing range, voted heavily for independence. Atomic reparations were also a major factor in the Marshalls vote; the agreement sets limits and finalizes all claims for damage and injury. The Department of Defense retains rights to the Kwajalein Island for 50 years as part of the agreement in exchange for federal funds for economic and social development amounting to $19.5 million.

Belauans also went to the polls in late 1983. They ratified a constitution and a compact of free association by 62%. They failed, however, to approve a separate provision required by the U.S. for acceptance of the compact agreement which concerns the transhipment of nuclear-equipped weapons through their territory. The populace did approve a controversial provision also requested by the Department of Defense that offers a lease on approximately one-third of Belauan territory to the U.S. for military purposes. The Belauan agreement of $1 billion in U.S. funds over fifty years thus includes a large sum for the alienation of their territory during that period. Because of the failure to ratify the nuclear weapons provision of the agreement, the status of the Belauan compact remains somewhat ambiguous at this time.

During this period Guamanians saw their historically relatively more autonomous relationship with the U.S. eclipsed by the new home-governance agreements with the TTPI members. Particularly the agreement with the Comonwealth of the Northern Marianas represented significant advantages from the perspectives of home governance and ethnic recognition for Chamorro people over the Guamanians' 1950 Organic Act. However, just as they had rejected the Northern Marianas' proposals for re-unification with Guam, the Guamanians declined to approve a home constitution for the island in 1979.

Economic Development

All of the Micronesian states have experienced revivals of ethnic awareness and a level of regional identity belied by the emergence of five separate political entities. The former TTPI members plan to invest the transitional federal funds in economic and social development projects that will move them toward overcoming the drastic 20 to 1 imbalance of their imports over exports. Through the period of American administration the TTPI and Guam have become extremely dependent upon imported products, while failing to develop cash economies which produce exportable goods. Even labor is imported for some types of work. This is the most important challenge to the region today. Micronesians must find ways to reconcile the Westernized standards of living that their people have come to expect with the actual and potential sources of revenue that they command.

The resources of the Micronesian islands are extremely limited. There are no known mineral deposits now that Angaur's phosphate is depleted. The limited land mass grows native crops such as taro, yams, breadfruit, and bananas. The most successful large scale agricultural projects were sugar and rice plantations orgnized by the Japanese. Such products could not be expected to compete on the world market, however, due to the high costs of transportation from the islands. Marine resources have considerable potential, particularly with the establishment of 200-mile exclusive zones. With the exception of Guam and areas that have been sites for major military installations, the infrastructure of roads, electrical and water supplies, and housing is

inadequate. District centers cannot keep up with the demands for services from those moving to the more urban centers in hope of employment in the cash economy. At the present time no major manufacturing or industrial developments exist in the Micronesian islands. The tinned fish that the islanders consume has often been caught in their waters, but is shipped to Japan or to Samoa for processing. Practically all manufactured goods and processed food stuffs are imported.

Although economic development is just in the planning stages, serious consideration is being given to fish and food processing plants in several areas of the islands. The Republic of Belau, located astride a major shipping channel and home to a very fine harbor, may become site of a multi-million dollar marine trans-shipment center. There is also the possibility of additional industrial development, for example, oil refining. The greatest potential for the Mariana Islands lies with the Japanese tourist trade, already providing a substantial portion of Guam's income and growing in the Northern Marianas. Guam has fairly well developed tourism facilities and the NMI is entering a major construction period. Tourism, from East Asian and elsewhere, may hold potential for other Micronesian states as well.

For Guam, the Northern Marianas, the Marshalls, and Belau the U.S. military will also play a major role in the economic future. The Deparment of Defense holds leases or agreements to lease in all those areas, effecting removal of those lands from use by native people, but also providing employment, both directly and indirectly. The importance of Micronesia as a strategic territory declined after the Vietnam War, with reduction of troops and deferral of plans for expansion of facilities. But events in other parts of Asian--for instance, instability in the Philippines--may bring about a renewed emphasis on Micronesia as the site for U.S. presence in the western Pacific.

Successful transition to economic self-sufficiency will require integrating aspects of the westernized cash economy with traditional subsistence living. Development of manufacturing and industrial complexes will be restricted by the available land and the fragility of the environment. Development, even tourism, cannot be permitted to impinge upon the indigenous subsistence economy upon which the majority of Micronesians still depends. Even workers in the district centers, earning wages in the cash economy, still make fishing and gathering a regular part of their lives.

Not only material, but human resources are limited in Micronesia. On a world scale, the peoples of the Micronesian islands are tiny groups. They total only 239,000 for the entire region--together equivalent to a medium-sized U.S. city. In order to carry out their development projects the Japanese imported massive numbers of their own people and other East Asians as laborers. This practice has recently been resumed. Speakers of non-Micronesian languages, excluding English, made up almost 14% of the total population enumerated in the 1980 census. They are

concentrated in Guam and the Northern Marianas, where workers speaking Philippine languages alone compose 14% of the population. Thus economic development for the Micronesian area must not be highly labor-intensive, if the region is not to be submerged, once again, in a majority of alien labor.

Some regions--especially Truk and the Marshalls--have reached population densities that their land masses and resources can barely support. And, everywhere in Micronesia, population is on the rise. The rapidly increasing populations throughout Micronesia will stretch the resources beyond their limits. The former TTPI states will receive their United States grants over the next 15 years, with large sums in the immediate future and declining subsidies as the agreement period continues. Return to dependence on the indigenous economy will not be an option: the land and water alone cannot support such numbers, even though Micronesians remain few by world standards. The future of Micronesia will lie in some combination of Western development and dependence on traditional resources; on the goods and services that have enhanced the lives of the Micronesian people and the materials that form the basis of their indigenous ways of life. The next decade will be a critical period.

The integration of Micronesian and American values, traditional and cash economies, village and federal political systems is already beginning to transform Micronesian education. Leaders, in the traditional society and in political office, are accutely aware of the central role that education must play if social and economic goals are to be attained. President Kennedy's proclamation of the basic role of education in societal transformation is even more true in Micronesia today, with its rapidly increasing and youthful population. But a different future is both hoped for and required than that envisioned in Washington, D.C., in 1962. Development plans now being conceived in Micronesia take full account of the problems, as well as the advantages, that have accrued through the decades of intensive Americanization. The very purpose of education is being re-examined for the Micronesian context. It must become a system that prepares the young for productive roles in the hybrid economy and society that Micronesia is moving toward. Some steps toward Micronesianization of education have already begun.

Education is the largest industry in Micronesia today. By 1979, over 90% of the tachers in TTPI classrooms were Micronesians, paralleling the resumption of Micronesian leadership which had taken place in the political arena. Approximately 41,000 students were enrolled. Taken together with educational workers, over half of all Micronesians are involved in formal education on a daily basis. At the end of the 1980s Trust Territory education was absorbing 20% of the gross territorial product. In addition, the Territory supported study abroad at the cost of $15 million. After termination of the Trust Territory agreements, federal monies to the Micronesian states will not be designated for specific purposes. Educational needs will compete with pressing

requirements for health and welfare services and critical economic development projects. With one of the world's highest birth and fertility rates, the former Trust Territories and Guam are expected to double their population by 1990. It is difficult to foresee how the increasing student numbers can be met without fundamental redesign, restructuring, and reorientation of the educational systems. Micronesian planners show every evidence of commitment to attack this basic governmental and social issue, and have called on expertise not only from educational planners, but from corporate planners and social scientists, particularly ethnographers, in order to design an educational sytem that meets the changing needs of self-governing Micronesia.

Micronesian Cultures

The American Micronesian islands lie among other major west Pacific island chains with whose populations they have long and direct relationships. All are Austronesians, the seafaring people who stretch across the Pacific from Hawaii, Tahiti, and Easter Island to Indonesia, Malaysia, and even to Madagascar.

The residents of the southern Ponape State atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro are Polynesians, more closely related to Samoans and other central and eastern Pacific peoples that to their northern neighbors. They present a clear link between the affiliated Polynesian and Micronesian cultures.

At the western end of American Micronesia, the Chamorros, indigenous residents of the Mariana Islands, and the Belauans represent a distinct branch of the Austronesian family. They are linguistically associated, not with other Micronesians, but with the Philippines and Indonesia.

The Marianas' distinctiveness has been reinforced by the Chamorros' early colonization and Christianization. Over two hundred years before the other Micronesian Islands experienced intimate contact with Europeans, the Chamorros were host to Spanish missionaries and imperial governors. This experience is reflected in their culture and their language today. During the next centuries, the Chamorros intermarried with the Spanish and the Mexican and Philippine workers whom the empire imported, incorporating 50% Spanish vocabulary into their language. In the nineteenth century, they were joined on the Northern Mariana Islands by Carolinian settlers from Truk and Ponape. Today the Carolinians form a minority of 25% of the population of the Northern Mariana Islands.

The Belauans also descend through the Western branch of Austronesian, historically associated with the Chamorros and the Philippinos. Unlike the Mariana Islanders, they did not undergo a long period of Hispanicization and cultural integration. While the Belauans are very like their Carolinian neighbors in their subsistence agricultural and fishing and communal village structure, their customs for personal behavior distinguish them from neighboring Micronesian peoples.

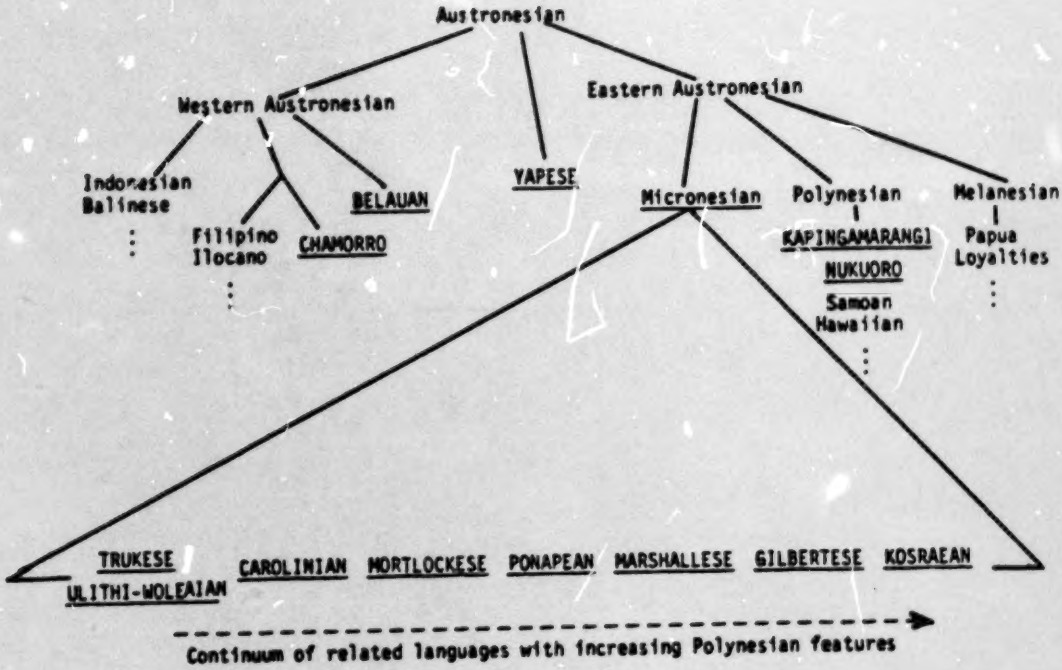
The Yapese are only remotely related to any other groups which settled Micronesia. They have no known kindred in the entire Pacific area. In their social and political relations, as well as their language, the Yapese are a distinct and unique people.

All other groups in Micronesia are closely related, linguistically and culturally. The southern islands of the Western Carolines, the Eastern Carolines, and the Marshalls (and also the Gilbert and Ellice Islands to the southeast) are all inhabited by peoples who were, historically, a single ethnic group. Over 2,000 years residence in the scattered islands have created differences in language, culture, and custom. Island living did not mean isolation, however. The expert seamanship which brought the people to the islands also served to maintain trading, warring, and marriage exchanges among different groups. Today the "core Micronesian" languages are distinct, and only a few are mutually intelligible. They constitute a continuum of languages, each most like its immediate neighbors, reflecting increasing contact with the Polynesian peoples in the south and east.

Figure I (next page) illustrates the relatedness of the languages of American Micronesia. Note that these genetic associations only partially parallel the political divisions in Micronesia today. There are separate, predominantly Chamorro, states in Guam and the Northern Marianas. The other Western Austronesian people has elected autonomy as the Republic of Belau, although the southern Belaua atolls are inhabited by Micronesian speakers. Yap is the center of a state of the FSM. It, too, is peopled by Micronesian speakers in its southern region.

Micronesian languages remain actively spoken today, an index of the cultural retentiveness of these people. Aided by the remoteness of their island locations, even languages with very small groups of speakers have sustained their distinctiveness. (Table IV, in the section "Education and Language," below, details language data from the 1980 U.S. Census.) Guam is the only district in which English has made major inroads in home language use. This reflects the intensive Americanization of the island through military presence, as well as the far longer history of English language schooling on that island. The 1980 Census found no significant difference between TTPI children and adults in use of English, an indication that Micronesians will continue to come to schools as speakers of other languages will require ESL and native language materials.

Analysis of relatedness by religion suggests the colonization history of the islands. All the Micronesian peoples have been converted to Christianity. However, in many areas the missionary effort was not begun until the latter nineteenth century. The western areas are predominantly Roman Catholic, following from the very early Spanish presence in the Marianas who extended their missions to Belau and Yap in the nineteenth century. Further Catholic attempts to proselytize in the Carolines and the Marshalls met with resistance, sometimes violent, from peoples recently Christianized through outreach from Protestant missionary societies in the United States. Denominational bifurcation has sometimes



Languages of American Micronesia
appear UPPER-CASE

FIGURE I: RELATIONS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF AMERICAN MICRONESIA

affected intra-Micronesian relations and has also been reflected in institutionalized education in the area. As elsewhere in the world, the Catholic missionaries to Micronesia were relatively accepting of native-language schooling, a practice that continued in the Marianas until this century. Some of the Protestant groups conducted native-language literacy efforts; others taught English for Bible reading.

Rural Micronesians participate in a fishing and farming/gathering susbistence economy, a way of life that enables easy procurement of essential foods--through cultivation and gathering of indigenous species of vegetables and fruits and lagoon fishing. The Micronesians, with a mild climate and immediately and easily available--though limited--food supplies, did not require sophisticated, or even permanent, shelters or clothing. Material accumulation does not characterize any of their traditional societies. Simple tools sufficed to catch and prepare marine foodstuffs. The leisure that characterized Micronesian village life was turned to practice of crafts and development of highly ritualized social structures, particularly articulated in the frequent and elaborate feasting that is a central feature of life in many areas even today. Feasts were opportunities for demonstrating respect for the leaders and achieving status through the worthiness of one's contributions. They constituted an opportunity to exchange wealth with donations accruing to the leaders, but also represented leaders' acceptance of obligations to assure the welfare of the community of donors. In native Micronesian economic structure wealth is collectively, rather than individually, held. Material goods are few, resources and labor are shared. Major community needs, for example, large boats, are met by gathering the entire workforce to participate in the task. Landholding practices varied among the Micronesian cultures, sometimes held by the chiefs only, sometimes by the village collectively, and sometimes granted for lifetime to an individual or a specific family. Regardless of the land tenure customs, the concept of sale or alienation of land did not exist.

Within the restrictive confines of the small island communities residents developed patterns of behavior that reduced direct confrontation and permitted harmonious living together. The Micronesians are well-known for avoidance of confrontation and disagreement, for indirect modes of interacting, for the high value that they place on face and dignity. While the specific behaviors and their relative articulation vary from culture to culture, putting oneself forward, directly challenging or demeaning another, and disturbance of consensus are generally negatively valued.

The pre-contact societies were by no means amicable neighbors with congruent values and ambitions. In the Carolines and the Marshalls inter-island and inter-village warfare was common. The introduction of firearms greatly expanded the destructiveness of endemic raiding and revenge patterns, which theretofore had often been resolved without loss of life and sometimes through purely non-violent ritual restitution of the balance of power. A well-remembered positive outcome of the German administration in the western Carolines was prohibition of such warfare.

The coming of the Westerners often altered the native cultures irrevocably. Practice of native religions was attacked directly; other critical cultural practices were circumscribed or prohibited. In many cases prevailing social relations at the time of the takeover were mistakenly construed as general conditions and reinforced in ways that violated the indigenous system. The new governors relied on alliances with or control of leaders most prominent at a particular time and place, whom they assumed to be--by analogy with European monarchs--permanent rulers by hereditary right. Much of the fluidity and egalitarianism that characterized leadership patterns in Micronesia was thus eliminated. Investing selected leaders with newly introduced material goods also destroyed the balance of mutuality of privilege and obligations which had benefited both nobles and commoners. As time has gone on, more permanent forms of wealth have begun to replace the perishable goods and personal services that characterized earlier forms of exchange, and the sense of communal responsibility on the part of chiefs has declined along with the willingness of commoners to share their possesions.

Many native practices stood in sharp contrast to the expectations of the colonialists. Western--and Japanese--values concerning the accumulation of capital, the moral imperative to work as hard as possible, and American values concerning equality and egalitarianism and decision by debate and by vote were at obvious odds with the deeply held Micronesian sense of self and clan and indigenous standards for individual and group behavior.

The paragraphs below examine specific aspects of Micronesian traditional life as it is manifested in the individual island cultures. They focus on topics that have direct implications for educational planning: political structures; economic systems; practices and attitudes toward socialization and roles for young people; interactional behavior and expectations for self-presentation; and experience of and reactions to outside intervention.

The Federated States of Micronesia

The three former Trust Territory Districts of Yap, Truk, and Ponape have elected to form a federation of four states, reorganized as Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae. Each of their district capitals has been a center of administration and education for some time and is a meeting ground for the more educated members of the societies. Here, as everywhere in Micronesia, the areas more distant from the centers represent more intact native societies, although the cash economy has spilled over into the most remote villages to some extent. The FSM constitution grants considerable autonomy to the member states, each of which has written its own charter to reflect the culturally unique conditions and aspirations of its citizens. The high regard of the FSM member states for their traditional life ways is indicated in the federal constitution's provision that expressly permits appointment of chiefs to government jobs--prohibited under TTPI administration--and authorizes the establishment of a chiefly council to advise the popularly-elected

federal legislature. Concern that the more populous states, Truk and Ponape, would dominate the Federation was mitigated by the provision that each state elect one delegate-at-large to the legislature from among whom the president and vice-president must be selected.

Ponape State is home to the only Polynesian peoples in American Micronesia, on the atolls of Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi. Both of these societies practice Polynesian customs (more familiar from Samoa), including the tradition of dual chieftanship--a remote, restrained, often silent head who uses a second chief as his orator and interface with the common people. This dichotomy is a representation of a cultural polarity of adulthood/controlled behavior/consensus/quiet/harmony with childhood/emotionality/conflict/animation. Children in these societies are expected to acquire the positive behaviors as they grow older, and are not regarded as possessing wisdom of any value until they have achieved them. Male and female role patterns are very distinct.

While the dual chief structure is often thought of as distinctly Polynesian, Micronesians in the area evidence it as well. The predominant island in the State is Ponape itself, the location of the State and Federal capital, Kolonia, and the dual-chief structure is present in all five of its clans. While the inhabitants of the other Ponapean Islands--Mokil, Ngatik, and Pingelap--are closely related and their languages nearly mutually intelligible with Ponapean, the main-islanders regard themselves as a distinct people. Traditional Ponapean districts were lead by a pair of chiefs known as the Namwarki and his orator, the Nanken. The societies were stratified into commoners, nobility, and chiefs, with each group having obligations to the others that together made up a symbiotic system for meeting the needs of the population. Decisions were made by apparent consensus. The Nanken acted as the leader of discussion, while individual views were felt out, so that no opposition was ever expressed publically, yet all opinions were solicited in making the decision. It has been very difficult for Ponapeans to accept open debate and voting as a polite and non-confrontational method of decisionmaking. The Namwarki were appointed magistrates by the Germans, a practice continued by the Japanese. The Americans, however, separated the civil and cultural realms, appointing non-chiefs as the local governmental representatives. This decision has perhaps enhanced, rather than diminished, Namwarki authority, since it left the realm of tradition and moral behavior to their purview. While the sacredness once attached to the chiefs has disappeared, especially in more urbanized areas, they maintain authority over the feasting system and the granting of titles. From a kingly origin, a fatherly role has developed; traditional chiefs are especially sought out to resolve clan conflicts. In recent years the granting of titles has increased as educated and successful commoners express their respect for the traditional social system by seeking access to a rank and soliciting favor of the chiefs. Status, once largely a factor of birth, now tends to be ascribed, based on demonstrated achievement in education, politics, or business.

The relative integrity of the traditional authority structure reflects Ponapeans' resistence to foreign influence. Spanish missionaries were expelled violently; most regarded the Japanese as invaders from whom the Ponapeans welcomed release by the American troops. The German administration undertook a land reform that removed lands from chiefly control and granted them to individual owners. This was regarded by some as a positive move, since population decimation had left many lands vacant and, through acquisition of land, new lineages were begun. The American administration restored traditional communal land ownership, a very welcome move after confiscation of both lands and laborers by the Japanese.

Unlike some of the areas in Micronesia, Ponape is highly suited to agriculture and more of the populace are engaged in farming than elsewere. Breadfruit and yams are traditional foods, with yams playing a very important function as ritual gifts. With marine life to supplement these crops the Ponapeans can live easily off the land and sea. In the territories outside the capital area yams are still regarded as more important than money. Ponapeans identify themselves as a yam-growing people and maintain a strong affirmative orientation to rural life, even when no longer engaged in farming. Ponape Island, particularly, has the potential to support a larger population. Agricultural production organized through traditional community structures and farmed collectively holds considerable promise for Ponape. Still the importance of the money economy has grown, with at least one member of most families participating in wage earning. Almost one-quarter of Ponape's 22,000 residents live in Kolonia. The government's growth in the past decades has encouraged urban migration, particularly by the more educated. Education is highly regarded as the key to advancement economically and, ultimately, socially. As Ponape reorients its economy toward self-sufficiency it will have to create new employment to sustain a large portion of its people in non-farming capacities, as well as enhance its agricultural production.

Traditional Ponapean society, like other pre-literate societies, did not conceive of education separate from daily life. Attitudes that will reveal the incongruence beween Ponapean culture and American-style schooling can be discerned from childrearing practices and ideas about children and maturation. Learning in Ponape was very like other forms of public behavior. In Ponape culture modesty is the rule. One does not assert oneself, particularly when there is the possibility of being overridden or of failing. Thus Ponapean children quietly observe adult work and undertake attempts privately, only exercising the skills before others when they are fully mastered. Nor is praise or even acknowledgement of the achievement be expected. Decorum requires that persons are publically modest about their accomplishments and will observe others' successes, but not comment upon them. This modesty can extend to denying that one even has skills or knowledge, a practice that has made it difficult for Ponapeans to compete in a capitalistic job market. (Many jobs in Kolonia are held by outsides, e.g., Japanese and Belauans, who are less unwilling to declare themselves qualified.)

Ponapean culture is organized around respect for elders and the concept that wisdom accrues with age. Young people are gradually introduced to their responsibilities to their families and communities, begining with discrete tasks such as assisting in basketry and helping with cultivation. Even toddlers participate in the work of the family. By the age of ten boys may be given a small plot of their own land to work. They will cultivate it without adult supervision or intervention, bringing forth the fruits of their labors as soon as they are successful. Failure to produce a crop would not be criticized; success only quietly acknowledged. Girls learn the requisite skills for household maintenance and childrearing in a similar gradual fashion. At young ages they are responsible for general supervision of their younger siblings and cousins. Children are granted more responsibility as they express the desire to have more status-bearing work. They carefully observe older children's and adults' behavior and move to assume it as soon as they feel ready.

Kosrae State was a part of the District of Ponape during the TTPI administration. Its people are linguistically distinct, but culturally closely related. The resources in the State are quite limited and the Kosraeans, more than any other Micronesians, have looked to the high seas for employment. Kosrae has experienced relatively high migration to urban centers; 2,000 of its 5,500 inhabitants live in the capital, Lelu. Little subsistence farming is or can be practiced. Kosraeans have generally welcomed American presence and the new social and economic system. They are regarded by many as the most progress-oriented of the FSM peoples.

While little historical research has been conducted in Kosrae, it appears that the area was a single kingdom at the time of European contact. Rather than the Polynesian dual-chief system, the Kosraeans followed a single leader. The Kosraeans readily adopted the new religion brought by nineteenth century Protestant missionaries from the Boston Missionary Society, adapting it to fit with their traditional religious beliefs and social structure. The missionaries participated in over-throw of the reigning king and took on central political roles. The church plays a major role in Kosraean life and is a source of prestige that has only recently been seriously challenged by the growing desire to accumulate material wealth.

Like other Micronesian societies, the Kosraeans have traditionally held their goods in common, valuing generosity and sharing within the extended family. The capitalist ethic of personal ownership conflicts directly with this tradition of sharing all goods with the community and has created considerable stress among them. The traditional extended family is still maintained as the primary unit, with wage earners as well as farmers and fishers sharing their incomes among a large number of relatives, rather than investing savings or profits to enlarge the base of the new economy.

Kosraeans place adulthood at a later age than Westerners. The informal learning period extends well into the thirties, when skills and

social behaviors are considered sufficient for entry into full public responsibilities. Activities in the traditional culture are stratified not only by age but by sex. Women's behavior, work, and lives are kept quite distinct from men's.

Truk State, the most populous of the FSM states, has the highest population density in American Micronesia (765 per square mile). It experienced considerable naval development during the Japanese period, but the past forty years have seen increasing population without concommitant development of economic opportunity. The Trukese have been relatively accepting of aspects of the new life ways introduced by the Germans, Japanese, and Americans. In part this may stem form the fact that the traditional subsistence economy was not sufficient to sustain their population. Thus promises of plenty through development, wage labor, or education were welcome. Trukese cooperativeness may also represent an extension to foreigners of their willingness to agree with a forcefully presented argument, rather than act confrontationally, especially when failure to prevail will result in loss of face.

Trukese have welcomed American education, for women as well as men. However, the economy has not responded with opportunities for the educated population. Many high school graduates are unemployed. In the decade following 1965 over 1,600 Trukese graduated from high school to seek employment in the tiny cash economy. Two-thirds of these young people managed to find work, over three-quarters of them engaged by the government. The remaining 500 unemployed have had to take up the traditional lifeways for which their schooling and absence from home during the formative years have not prepared them. Many educated young Trukese are returning to their home islands to attempt getting by with traditional subsistence gathering and farming and fishing, but some live on the fringes of the urban centers, especially the capital, Moen. Despite limited prospects, few Trukese migrate or remain abroad after college. Three-quarters of students from the outer-island of Etal, for example, expressed a desire to remain home, but the vast majority stated clear reluctance to the traditional subsistence way of life. Nor can the land support the increasing population in the traditional economy.

Fear of hunger has long been a factor in Trukese social life. Some observers believe it has played a part in the occasional reluctance of Trukese to assume leadership roles and the responsibilities for general welfare that those titles entail. Traditional Trukese leadership structure is the loosest in any of the Micronesian territories. The political units were very small, often encompassing a single settlement. Competition for scarce resources led frequently to open conflict among groups, a pattern that led the German colonial administration to clamp down on warfare. The three main responsibilities of a Trukese leader have traditionally been to maintain and pass on the esoteric knowledge of the group regarding warfare, status, and leadership roles; to organize work parties for community undertakings such as construction and deep-sea fishing; and to arbitrate disputes. These responsibilities were sometimes vested in a single leader, sometimes distributed among two or three individuals. The oldest male in any of the larger landowning

families might be selected for the chiefhood; in recent years it has been difficult for some communities to find a person willing to take on the job.

The role of leader also places a Trukese in a stressful personal situation, particularly as arbiter of disputes. The Trukese are particularly reluctant, even when compared to other Micronesians, to participate in confrontational situations. It is not surprising that societies so dependent upon maximum exploitation and equitable distribution of very limited resources would emphasize interpersonal harmony as a basic social principle. In meetings, they are not expected to contradict the chief or one another. Politeness and acceptance of consensus decisions is a critical feature of appropriate social behavior and loss of status through espousing a minority view is very serious as a social control mechanism. Conflict is channelled into indirect behaviors such as private gossip and public avoidance.

The Trukese highly value age and decorum; the responsible positions awarded the educated young in recent years have placed great stress on the relations between old and young, traditional and modern life ways. The first three decades of life were not intended, in Trukese culture, to be dedicated to heavy responsibility, such as school life requires. Rather, they were a period for casual living and informal preparation for the family and community leadership roles of later adulthood.

Traditional Trukese culture was highly sex-segregated. Fathers were considered the more nurturant parent, supportive of the children, while the mothers acted correctively or indifferently. Men provide most of the vegetable foodstuff through their farming; women supply marine foods caught on the reefs, contrasting with sex role assignments elsewhere in Micronesia. There was no formal training for girls; they learned the necessary skills and crafts through the observation of older women, much as in Ponape. Basic skills for boys were also transmitted in this indirect fashion. Selected young men, however, were given direct instruction in the more esoteric lore of the community by the chiefs. Clan lore, myth, history, and ways of war were passed on to potential leaders in oral instruction. Some speculate that this instructional system formed a bridge to the formal educational systems instituted by the colonials.

Yap State is generally considered to maintain the strongest traditionalist orientation among the Micronesian regions. The Yap State Charter demonstrates the continuing respect for the native political and social system by granting the traditional chiefs veto power over legislative and judicial decisions which affect native custom. The two distinct councils, the Tamol, made up of outer-island chiefs, and the Pilung, of chiefs from Yap, represent continuation of inter-island differences that go deep into the culture.

The outer islands of Yap State are populated by peoples closely related to the other Carolinians, especially to the other residents of

southern atolls. They speak languages that are affiliated with, and in some cases mutually intelligible with, their neighbors in southern Belau. Their cultural ways are also similar.

The Yapese themselves, however, are only very remotely related historically and linguistically with other Micronesians. Yapese is an "isolate" language: a member of the Austronesian family lacking any clear affiliation, considered to have diverged from the original Austronesian-speaking people at a very early time in history. While the Yapese are Micronesian-like in many of their lifeways, values, and beliefs, their social structure and cultural conservatism distinguish them from their neighbors.

The Yapese had developed a highly statified political system, vestages of which structure inter-island and interpersonal relations today. The Yap island group functioned as center and head of a pyramidal political and social system encompassing islands in the entire area. Ulithi, for example, was connected with the Yapese chiefs through heirarchial relations of obligation. Wolei, in its turn, owed fealty to Ulithi. Within each island chieftains were also ranked. This complex system of ascending obligations and decending responsibilities was marked by superiors' right to demand goods and labor when required and commoners' right to protection and subsistence. In times of food shortage, higher chiefs provided for the villages under their oversight. Generous tribute, intermarriage, and military success all provided avenues for advancement.

After domination by the Germans and the Japanese, this system of reciprocal relations became frozen into what was less a feudal than a caste system. The Japanese, for example, forbade the traditional elaborate ceremonies for which the upper classes conscripted labor, nullifying not only the chiefs' rights, but their opportunity to incur responsibilities. The American administration's practice of employing higher caste persons in government and territorial leadership positions perpetuated the system. Until 1969 the District legislature for Yap was elected only by residents of the main islands; outer-islanders did not have the right to vote for the advisory council. Even today, it is sometimes difficult for a teacher from one of the outer-islands to establish proper respect from main-island pupils.

The cultural construct underlying Yapese social structure is based on a polarity of purity and pollution that pervades many aspects of life. Like other Carolinians, the Yapese negatively value youthful exhuberance and agressive behavior, and respect age and socially controlled behavior. Chiefly persons are expected to sustain careful and quiet demeanors. As in neighboring Truk, full adulthood and integration of appropriate behaviors and responsibilities is not presumed before middle age. Yapese culture is thus highly stratified by age, with respect and knowledge attributed to those who have accrued ability and control with age. Older adults' economic dependence on the educated younger generations is highly stressful.

Yapese society is also stratified by gender. Work and most other group activities and even residence are often separate for men and women; coeducational classrooms can present difficulties for Yapese, particularly if boys are expected to perform tasks they are unsure of in front of girls. Status for women does not come until after the child-bearing years.

Traditional Yapese adults would rarely engage in physical agression against a family or community member. By eight or nine children have been taught that practice of physical agression is punishable and a source of shame. Conflicts are resolved privately and without recourse to a legal code. Ridicule is a very serious punishment. The Western notions of punishment by a public system and rule by written law are highly alien to Yapese.

Under the Japanese administration Yap was fairly important as a strategic area and some infrastructure was developed. Little economic development has taken place under the TTPI administration, however, and most Yapese are dependent upon subsistence agriculture, conducted by the women, and fishing, the responsibility of men. This is especially true in the outer atolls; in the Colonia considerable numbers of educated Yapese are employed in service industries or the government bureaucracy.

The Marshall Islands

The Marshalls comprise two northwest-to-southeast island chains which make up the northern section of a large archipelago extending through the Gilbert and Ellice Islands to Samoa. Population tends to be concentrated in the southern Marshalls, which provide a richer environment for agriculture. The Marshallese maintain close relations with their non-American neighbors to the south, some regularly seeking marriange partners in affiliated Gilbertese islands.

Their language and cultural patterns are similar to those of the eastern Carolines. With their Gilbert Island neighbors, the Marshallese make up the easternmost settlements by the "core Micronesian" peoples. The Marshall Islands is a monolingual territory; the 1980 census found just a few hundred Marshallese who claimed English as their primary language and a hundred adult Gilbertese speakers. In addition there are small groups of alien laborers--Micronesian and non-Micronesian.

The U.S. maintains considerable presence in the Marshalls and will continue to do so under the compact of free association. In the main, the Marshallese regard the American military presence with equanimity, and the new self-government will depend heavily on revenues from the leasing of Kwajalein Island to the U.S. Air Force. Some groups, however, especially the displaced Kwajalein Islanders and the atomic testing refugees from Bikini and Enewetak and the secondarily affected atolls of Rongelap and Utirik, voted heavily for independence in the recent political status referendum. The issues of future direction for the

islands and means for progress toward financial self-sufficiency will loom large in Marshalls planning in the coming years.

The Marshallese appear to be culturally adaptive, adjusting their traditional beliefs and lifeways to changing conditions under a series of external regimes. Holidays, for example, have followed the calendar and religion of each succeeding colonial government. At core, however, they have sustained their native culture perhaps more effectively than less flexible peoples. The Marshallese are second only to the Yapese in the authority their new home government grants to traditional chiefs. The Constitution for the Marshall Islands calls for a chiefly council of Iroij which, while it does not have final say on legislation, may review all legislation and, if it deems a bill a threat to customary law, traditional practices, or land tenure, demand reconsideration and a second vote. Because land tenure issues figure prominently in Marshallese politics, the council, carrying the weight of elders' opinion, may play a significant role in political life. Traditional Marshallese society was organized into nobles and commoners, with all land held by two paramount chiefs who granted property to the lesser nobles for their communities' use. Grantees returned goods to their superiors in exchange for rights to the land. While this system has broken down to some extent, it is still the context in which discussions of property rights and personal privilege are conducted.

Most Marshallese are still participants in the subsistence economy, even those in the urban areas. Stores supplement food produced by the people themselves and processed in traditional ways. The traditional economy is based on lagoon fishing, coconuts, pandanus, taro, and the preferred crop, breadfruit. Copra is the only food product that has been commercialized.

The Marshallese have adopted aspects of their overlords' ceremonial practice, as well as the Christian religion. The Marshalls were among the earlier targets of American Protestant missionary efforts. Beginning in the 1850s, missions were established with efforts centered at Majuro, now the capital. From the 1830s on the Marshalls were visited by whaling ships and the port of Jaluit developed into a stopover and recoaling station. By the 1880s the Germans had established hegemony over the Marshalls and were actively involved in a well-organized copra trade system. This was one of the most successful agricultural export ventures in Micronesia. The Germans relied on selected chiefs as their contacts and administrators, thus elevating certain individuals and rigidifying the political structure. The Japanese period saw intensive fortification of the Marshalls, the western outpost of their Micronesian protectorate. The Japanese also introduced a separate, civilian administration that served to undermine traditional social structure.

The early American years saw continued intensive militarization of the Marshalls. First they were used as a base for continuing the war against Japan. Then, in the late 1940s and the 1950s the region became the U.S. test site for above-ground atomic blasts. Areas of the

Marshalls were rendered uninhabitable through these explosions and their populations displaced to others areas within the Marshalls. The U.S. continues to use the Marshalls as a test area for advanced weapons, most notably out of the ballistic missle testing range in Kwajalein. Inhabitants of that island have been removed to adjoining atolls and they, and several thousand others, are employed in support services for the air base.

The Marshall Islands have the youngest median age in American Micronesia, 14.8 years. While their population has not increased as dramatically in the past decade as have other Micronesian states (increase of 21.4%), it can be expected to rise quickly in the coming years. Education has not been developed in the Marshalls as extensively as in other parts of Micronesia, in part because the military juristication over portions of the islands precluded expension of schooling by civilian Americans such as the Peace Corps efforts in the Carolines. The American administration did seek to establish Marshallese-staffed schools on all major atolls. The Marshallese value aquisition of English as a route to employment in the largely-American cash sector of the economy, but are not highly education-oriented, as, for example, the Belauans. Many adults, especially in the urban areas, are literate in Marshallese, a result of recent schooling efforts and older missionary programs for teaching Bible reading. Educational planning in the Marshalls will require both shorter term evaluation of the current economy, tied to American presence, and study of the longer term general desires of the Marshallese people for traditional and Western styles of life.

The Republic of Belau

The Republic of Belau (written "Palau" before a recent orthographic reform) lies at the western end of the Caroline Islands, encompassing a number of outer islands inhabited by peoples closely related to the Yap State outer-islanders, and the central Belau island group, whose indigenous inhabitants are, like the Chamorros, Western Austronesians, linguistically not in the Micronesian group. Unlike the Chamorros, however, Belauans did not experience early European hegemony. Their culture is thus more intact than the highly Hispanicized Mariana culture. The customs and language of the southern islands are very like their atoll neighbors across the Carolines, but the Belauans themselves differ culturally from other Carolinians.

When compared with the cultural system that stresses outer harmony and consensus that characterizes the "core Micronesian" peoples of Kosrae, Ponape, Truk and the Marshalls, and the southern atolls in the Republic, the Belauans are relatively less in-turned, conforming, and non-competitive. In traditional Belauan society material wealth, and the manipulation of communal wealth, were routes to power and prestige. These customs are continued today; now money as well as goods are exchanged among large kinship networks on a wide variety of occasions.

Belauans have been relatively open to change and have seen advantage in the new systems of wealth and power that the succeeding colonial and protectorate regimes have offered. In many ways, however, they have sustained continuity with their traditions. While Spanish missionaries Christianized the area in the 1890s, they did not greatly affect the local social structure. The Belauans adopted Catholicism, but maintained aspects of their own belief structure along with the new creed. Invocation of traditional magic is still common, for example, in election campaigns. The Germans and, to an even greater extent the Japanese, brought with them the means for social transformation. Wage employment was introduced and, under the Japanese, extensive industrial development, especially at the port of Koror. For Belauans the Japanese period was one of relative prosperity. They benefitted significantly from the territorial vocational arts school at Koror and began to take on employment outside their own islands.

Although Belau suffered lack of economic development under American administration, just as other regions of Micronesia, the port facilities may soon develop into a major western Pacific transhipment and perhaps energy refining center. Belau's financial future is relatively promising. Belauans have also been adaptable as workers. They are employed in a wider range of occupations than other Micronesians, including blue collar jobs. They have migrated to participate in the cash economies of other Micronesian territories, appearing in noticable numbers in the 1980 language census in Guam, the Northern Marianas, and Yap (see Table IV, in the section on "Language and Education," below). As emigrants the Belauans remain close-knit and continue to engage in celebration and exchange with their traditional communities. In fact, the level of ritual and obligatory family exchange is thought by some to hinder Belau's economic development, since it precludes individuals from accumulating the private capital that is necessary for successful business ventures.

In the pre-contact period the Belauan political system was relatively decentralized, with a great deal of responsibility and autonomy exercised at the community or village level. Chiefs led with the consent and support of a council of male elders. This organization continues to prevail in Beauan politics. Successful careers in elective office are based on participation in village-level affairs, respectful attention to the opinions of community elders, and participation in ritual exchange. Securing the support of one's kinsmen--a large number in the Belauan family system--is critical to electoral victory. The Belauans could, and occasionally did, remove their chiefs by vote of the village council. The Belauan Constitution reflects this practice in the right to recall all elected officials, legislative and executive.

Belau has experienced several important educational experiments. Each has been superimposed upon indigenous learning and teaching practices that were well developed, quite formal systems of education. Both boys and girls were organized into village "clubs" through which they learned sex-appropriate skills and behavior. The system for boys

was more fully developed; each boys' group had its own clubhouse. As groups boys were instructed in hunting, fishing, and carpentry; girls in food preparation, cultivation of vegetables, and childcare. Appropriate social behavior was also learned, with group loyalty, fealty to the leaders, respect for elders, and communal responsibility the predominant values. The boys' clubs also performed tasks that required larger pools of labor, thus learning their responsibilities for larger community welfare. Projects were often taken on as competitions among boys' clubs. Belauan society had a number of specialized areas of expertise--medicine, lore of nature and the gods, magic, construction of particular items requiring great skill, politics--for which selected individuals received direct instruction.

Spanish and subsequent German regimes undertook little that affected native education. The Japanese, however, took socialization of the colonial young as a basic duty. The Japanese regime imposed universal education in the form of three years' study of Japanese language and culture during their thirty-year hegemony over the Micronesian islands. Micronesian children were educated in schools segregated from the Japanese and other imported workers' children. In Koror, their administrative headquarters for the southern islands, they established a multi-year vocational training center for selected islands boys in 1926. The school was enrolled heavily by Belauans, most of whom learned carpentry, and the curriculum was later expanded to include mechanics. Disproportionately large numbers of Belauans were also enrolled at the Japanese agricultural schools on other islands. The graduates found employment among the Japanese industries and military, attaining highly prestigious positions in the indigenous culture through their achievement. The best-educated Belauans were given intensive English training by the first American administration and awarded major roles in the new government.

Belau education underwent a similar evolution to the rest of Micronesia under TTPI administration--relatively little development in the early years and rapid development in the 1960s. The local initiative that characterized the early years of Belauan education under the TTPI was replaced by academic programs and funding from the central administration. However, the 1960s also witnessed experiments in vocational and tradition-oriented education. A series of village and outer-islands schools were initiated that stressed education for the traditional Micronesian way of living, offering training in techniques of fishing, native crop cultivation, and basic medicine and health for small communities. These schools were often built in cooperation with the villagers and brought local community members into the classroom to teach--in Belauan or the local language--about native lifeways and culture.

In the 1970s, as ethnic awareness was building toward the ultimate decision to seek separation from the proposed Federated States of Micronesia, a group of traditional religious leaders launched another educational experiment. The Modekngei religion, which arose in the

colonial period as a syncretism of native and colonial religious beliefs and practices, was strongly separatist and concerned for the cultural and economic integrity of Belau. They founded a school through which they wished to showcase native autonomy, integrity, and cultural continuity. The self-sufficiency ethic that would be the basis for the curriculum was understood differently, however, by the Modekngei leaders and their American director--the man who had started the community based schools during his tenure as district educational administrator. The factions were unable to strike a balance between the desire for an academically rigorous and socially respected school and the cooperative work projects that their director envisioned. The school failed after a few years. However, the attempt to syncretize Western and Japanese styles of academic schooling with education for local self-sufficiency may serve as a model for study among Micronesian educational planners.

The Territory of Guam

The population of Guam has grown under U.S. administration from 9,700 in 1901 to 106,000 in 1980. Guam is home to almost half the people of American Micronesia and its single island constitutes half the area's land mass. The Chamorro people, Guam's indigenous inhabitants, have a unique history in Micronesia. They stem from the Western branch of the Austronesian people, rather than the Eastern branch to whom most Micronesians belong. Thus they were originally culturally distinct in Micronesia, most closely related with the peoples of the Philippine Islands, whose languages are similar to Chamorro. The Mariana Islands were the first sites for European settlement in Micronesia and events following from Hispanic rule brought about the most intensive Europeanization of any area in Micronesia. The Mariana Islands were a single culture area in pre-contact times and, under the Spanish, from the sixteenth century until 1899, continued as a single political unit. However, in the twentieth century the fates of the northern islands and Guam diverged. They are now constituted as two distinct political entities, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Territory of Guam. Thus the history of the Chamorros in Guam is also the history of the Chamorro Northern Mariana Islanders up through the nineteenth century.

The Spanish domination of the Marianas brought Christianization and cultural and ethnic mixing. By the end of the Spanish period the native Chamorros had intermarried with the Mexican and Philippine laborers whom the Spanish had imported to replace a worker population decimated by contact with European disease. The upper class of Chamorros had intermarried with the Spanish as well. Reconstruction of the indigenous Chamorro culture is very difficult. In fact, the culture and lifeways that are considered Chamorro today are the heritage of this later, ethnically mixed people.

Pre-contact Chamorro society is thought to have been organized into three distinct classes, rulers, commoners, and slaves. (The word

"chamorri" means "chief.") The former commanded all land and resource allocation, with intermarriage a route to advancement for commoners, but not for the slave class. Certain occupations, including warrior, fisherman, canoe builder, trader, sailor, were reserved for the nobility. The Roman Catholic dogma of equality before God was directly effective in breaking down this structure. Early Chamorro culture was matrilocal and women played important roles publically as well as exercising complete authority in family matters. This tradition of prominant and important roles for women, while mitigated by Catholic models for female behavior, is retained today. Guamanian women are highly respected, educated, and visible as leaders.

The Spanish initiated an educational system which was aimed at enabling all Chamorros to understand at least creed and catechism. Mission schools were established in most villages. At the end of the Spanish period perhaps as many as 75% of Chamorros above the age of seven were at least minimally literate in Chamorro and 50% were reported to read some Spanish as well.

During the first decades of Spanish settlement the Chamorros had strongly resisted Christianization and Hispanic domination. For twenty years active warfare raged throughout the Marianas, culminating in the defeat of the indigenous people and their wholesale removal from the northern islands to controlled mission villages on Guam. A few evaded deportation on the island of Rota where Chamorro language and way of life were continued unaffected by the cultural integration that was proceeding on the main island. Rotan Chamorros remain conservative and somewhat separatist today. In the nineteenth century Guamanian Chamorros re-imigrated to the northern islands, both Rota and the uninhabited territories. They were joined by Carolinians who were settled there as part of a German effort in population redistribution.

In 1898 Spain lost the Philippines and the Island of Guam to the United States. The following year the hard-pressed Spanish sold the remainder of their Micronesian territories to the Germans. The Northern Marianas thus became part of the region that was to become the Japanese protectorate after 1914, while Guam passed into American hands.

With the exception of the period of Japanese domination in 1941-44, Guam has remained as a U.S. Territory. The Americans administered the island as a strategic area, placing it under Naval authority. Guam education was placed under the direction of the Naval chaplain, rather than a professional educator. The new administration declared universal education for children 8-14 with emphasis on English language, and, for the first time in Guam, separation of religion from education. During the pre-World War II period education consumed approximately one-quarter of the Naval budget for Guam. Education was academic and Guamanians were segregated from American dependents. The Navy stressed training of Guamanian teachers, so that by 1933 all schools were staffed exclusively by native instructors. The depth of the training that they had received, however, placed the level of educational quality in some doubt. A review

of the Guam education system in 1946 found that no instructional materials had been developed that were specifically for Guam; all lessons were conducted out of state-side texts. Vocational education was offered only in limited ways, with the Navy's apprentice program the largest source of job training. Guamanians were channeled, both in this earlier period and after World War II, into low-skill positions in the military, visible especially as navy cooks.

The Japanese invasion of Guam briefly brought the same system to the island that was imposed elsewhere in Micronesia: three years of strict disciplinary education in Japanese language and culture. The short period of Japanese hegemony, however, did not instill the level of language or culture learning that characterized other portions of the islands. The Japanese did expand the agricultural system on Guam. During the period of Spanish rule the Chamorros had shifted from the lifeways that typify the Micronesian islands--gathering and fishing--to a predominantly agricultural economy. The Japanese created large commercial plantations and taught methods of sugar and rice growing.

The restoration of U.S. control in 1944 brough renewal of Americanization efforts, educationally and politically. The Guam Congress was resumed as an advisory body to the governor and, in 1950, the Guam Organic Act made Guamanians U.S. citizens and permitted free travel to the mainland for the first time. In 1960 Guamanians obtained the right to elect their own governor. Guam is now represented in the U.S. Congress by a single Representative who may vote in committee, but not on the floor. Guam has rejected several overtures from the Northern Marianas for reuification and, in 1979, defeated a constitution that would have granted privileges similar to those exercised by the NMI and which would have made Chamorro the second official language, on a par with English.

Lifting of the military security zone restrictions on Guam have permitted the island to develop trade relations and a successful tourist industry with several nations in East Asia, especially Japan. Tourism is already a major industry in Guam and promises to become increasingly important. Many of the professional positions in tourism, however, are held not by Guamanians, but by foreign workers. The corporate and industrial sectors of the economy are largely controlled by non-Guamanians, while the Chamorros fill governmental positions and jobs at the lower fringes of the cash economy. Guam also attracts aliens who are seeking a port of entry to the United States and, in the 1970s, was used as a relocation center for Southeast Asian refugees.

Guamanians have sought better opportunities in the United States in increasing numbers. The 1980 Census counted 30,700 Guamanians in the U.S., mostly concentrated on the West Coast and in Hawaii. Some considerable numbers of these are college-educated people who have not returned home.

Guam has the most well developed educational system in American Micronesia. The quality of the schools advanced immediately after 1945, when military wives entered the teaching profession, bringing their own American children as classmates and language models. In 1952 the University of Guam was founded, primarily for teacher education. The University now has a full academic curriculum and attracts students from throughout the area. The Guam Vocational-Technical High School founded in 1955 was expanded as Guam Community College in 1977. The American domination of the classroom declined throughthe 1950s, as the Guam legislature lobbied for replacement by native teachers. Now the majority are well educated Chamorros. English remains a problem, however, since Guamanians have developed their own dialect of English, a variety that is not well understood outside the islands.

The curriculum, however, remained largely as adopted from American schools. In recent years there has been a stong movement of support for increased Guam-oriented curriculum materials and, particularly, attention to school support of the Chamorro language. The large and long-standing American presence on the island has brought about a decline in the use of Chamorro by young people, a trend which older Guamanians view with alarm. In 1973 a bilingual program was initiated, expanded in 1977 to require Chamorro as a mandatory subject in grades one to six, so that native-language literacy might be reintroduced and decline of spoken Chamorro halted. Chamorro is offered as an optional subject through grade twelve. Bilingual signs and advertisements are required as well.

For the forseeable future Guam will remain a Territory of the United States. Its educational and economic development planning assume continuing access to the U.S. and to U.S. funds and support. However, Guam, too, is seeking greater economic self-sufficiency through development of tourism, especially, but also possible small industrial and maufacturing concerns. The education offered Guamanian children must prepare them to maintain their cultural heritage in a changing, and more crowded, society. Educational planning on Guam will encompass questions of language, ethnic maintenance, and vocational needs.

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

The Northern Mariana Islands are home to a mixed indigenous population of whom Chamorros constitute the majority and Carolinians a twenty-five percent minority. The northern islands of the Mariana archipelago were largely devoid of population between 1693, when the Spanish forcibly removed revolting Charmorros to controlled villages on Guam, and the nineteenth century, when the former natives were permitted to resettle and the German regime added to the population by resettling families from their overpopulated territories in the Carolines, especially from Truk. The returning Chamorros had experienced the same history of Hispanicization as their compatriots remaining on Guam; their numbers were increased somewhat by mixture with the few Chamorros who had eluded Spanish removal and sustained their ancient culture on the island of Rota.

During the Japanese period, 1914-45, the Northern Marianas were developed for integration into the Japanese Empire. Massive immigration from Japan transformed the natives into a one-in-seven minority in their own islands. Large agricultural systems were developed and, particularly in Saipan, the headquarters of the Japanese administration, modern infrastructure was developed. Military facilities followed as the war neared, primarily on Tinian Island. Most of the Japanese were deported by the American administration following the War, although the considerable numbers who had intermarried with the Chamorros and Carolinians remained.

Today the main islands, Rota, Tinian, and the capital, Saipan, are home to 17,000 people, including considerable numbers of foreign workers especially from the Philippines. On Saipan one-quarter of the population is non-native. The Northern Marianas is the only member of the TTPI to elect a close association with the United States. As a commonwealth the NMI residents are U.S. citizens and participate in various federal programs that are not applicable to other territories. This American orientation stems at least in part from the special status that prevailed for the NMI following World War II. With the exception of Rota, the islands were not included in the Trust Territory, but rather maintained as a military area under Naval jurisdiction. Tinian Island was sealed off as a training base for the CIA. Military rule was not discontinued until 1962, at which time the islands were reunited as the NMI District in the TTPI. The ban on foreign travel was not lifted until 1974, since which time the NMI has endeavored to develop its favorable position for the Japanese tourist industry. Tinian remains a center of U.S. military interest. It served as an important base during the Vietnam War and is being considered for re-expansion.

The political structure of the NMI reflects the complex and difficult history the islands' population has undergone. Traditional community social structures, largely destroyed by foreign intervention, removal, and depopulation, have been replaced in part by the emerging political parties which were introduced by the American system of governance. Functions such as large work parties for major community activities, e.g., construction or deep sea fishing, were once organized by village or clan leaders, as is common elsewhere in Micronesia. Now these tasks are undertaken through the leadership of political parties. The parties organize burials, important celebrations, and such major events and are almost entirely endogamous.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas carefully protects the indigenous culture. It requires equal representation of each of the three islands of Rota, Saipan, and Tinian in the upper legislative house, despite Saipan's overwhelming population superiority. This clause is an effort to express the importance of continued unity among the islands, despite the historical differences between Rota and the other islands. Furthermore the constitution places restrictions on land ownership by residents not of Northern Marianas descent. With the large numbers of foreign workers in the islands, there

is concern that dillution of the Chamorro and Carolinian populations might again take place. Both of these provisions may face legal challenge under U.S. constitutional law, and should provide a test of the flexibility, within U.S. law, for indigenous peoples' self-determination.

The Northern Marianas is widely regarded as possessing the most well developed educational system of any of the former TTPI members. The portion of young people with high school degrees is the highest, as are the qualifications for teaching certification. The NMI opened its first high school in Saipan in 1961 and has placed priority on training centers within its own district. In 1981 post-secondary education became available in the NMI for the first time. Still teacher training is urgently needed and less than 5% of NMI residents possess college degrees. Like other areas it suffers from a lack of a vocationally educated native labor force. The labor force has a median of 6.2 years of schooling, but this is primarily in academic subjects. As in Guam, in the NMI non-natives dominate in small business, management, and industry and construction. The future directions for the NMI economy appear to hold expansion in the service sectors. Educational planning now taking place will greatly affect the success of economic transition.

EDUCATION FOR MICRONESIA

In recent years there has been concern throughout Micronesia that the educational structure established by the American administrations is not suited to the long-term needs of the region, nor is it sufficiently congruent with native Micronesian beliefs and values. There has been a demand for culturally-relevant education, both in content and in pedagogy. As economic development ideas have begun to take shape, the importance of vocational education has been realized; there has not, however, been an equivalent rise in the demand for vocational training. The population demographics indicate that education will be a growing industry. A populace educated to the new economic situation is a necessity. Micronesia must design schooling for rising numbers of young people and education for change for the child and adult population. The following sections suggest several areas in which educational research and development might profitably take place.

Education and Economy. Micronesia has undergone rapid and profound change. Return to former life is not possible. Contact, particularly during the last twenty years of American administration, has drastically altered the attitudes and expectations of the Micronesian peoples. All the Micronesian states are experiencing exponential population growth, already reaching numbers in some areas that the native subsistence economy could not support. It is an amalgam of the old and the new that Micronesian leaders are seeking. Economic development plans are being drawn up in all parts of the former TTPI and in Guam. These proposals will suggest, and must also follow, the directions that Micronesian education will take and has taken.

Paradoxically, Micronesia has both a shortage and an excess of trained labor. The American emphasis on academic schooling has created a large white collar labor pool. In 1980 over 2,500 Trust Territory adults possessed a high school diploma. Territory schools are turning out 1,000 graduates a year, so that that number will double by 1990. These people have been trained in the expectation of receiving employment in government or education, highest status work in the Micronesian point of view. Yet the TTPI governmental structure, the assumed employer, is already staffed by very young workers; only expansion would create vacancies in the required numbers. And it is not expansion, but contraction of governmental payrolls that is the only reasonable outlook for the Micronesian states. In 1980 the cost of government services in the TTPI was $80 million, ten times the total value of the region's exports. While the new political entities will continue to receive U.S. funding as a commonwealth and as freely associated states, those revenues will decline after at most five years. Programs upon which Guam has depended have also been curtailed. Micronesia thus has a valuable asset--an educated workforce--for whom there is no place in the existing economy.

On the other hand, there is such a shortage of skilled blue collar workers that alien labor, from the Philippines, Japan, Taiwan, and Korea have been imported to fill roles in construction, skilled trades, service industries, and business managment. The Northern Marianas, for example, had an imported workforce of 3,623 in 1982, among an indigenous population of less than 17,000. Vocational education was not emphasized in the past years, nor is it as attractive to native Micronesians as are bureaucratic positions. Traditionally, working for another person was evidence of class inferiority to the person who commanded one's services. Chiefs could request labor from commoners as part of the reciprocal obligations that were the basis of Micronesian village structure. It is difficult, then, for many traditionalist Micronesians to seek employment in business or industrial settings. Development of vocational education cannot just be undertaken wholesale, as was the expansion of academic education. Micronesian attitudes about work must be explored and incorporated to enhance not only learning, but later employment situations.

In several areas of Micronesia experiments are underway to create educational programs that amplify traditional skills and lifeways. In the Northern Marianas and Guam the emerging tourist industry has suggested that the practice of traditional crafts, e.g., basketry, might lead to a profitable supplementary income for numbers of people. Some programs for teaching the young traditional techniques are being instituted, using talented older members of the communities as instructors. The Nett Culture Center in Ponape employs elders to teach traditional methods in weaving, boat-building, and fishing, and to instruct the young in culture history. This structure of training also reinforces the important relationship between young people and the community elders whose work and activities the young traditionally observed and imitated. It also serves to reunite the school and the

community. Restoration of the dignity of manual work is also critical to economic development. Because traditional labor has not been economically as lucrative as white collar employment, there has been little to draw people into that sector of the cash economy. If profit from small manufacturing and crafts can be more closely equalized with the inflated American administration-based sector, such handwork might become attractive and attitudinal barriers to private sector employemnt broken down.

Organizational structures that build on native social systems may also be explored. Micronesians have traditionally held property in common or in trust. Possession of surplus goods by individuals is still regarded with discomfort, even by groups, such as the Belauans, who participate actively in the wage economy. There may be much to learn from cooperative economic ventures that have been tried in other parts of the developing world. Adult education for community leaders about integration of small ventures in cooperatives may be appropriate, since it would lend their credibility to the undertakings and assure cultural appropriateness of the projects. Furthermore, leadership by the elders is crucial to maintenance of community social structure.

Education and Culture. Just as there are economic practices and economic training that build upon native culture, so there are classroom practices that can be drawn from traditional, informal learning structures to enhance the educational success of Micronesian children and adults. For some time now research into culturally-appropriate schooling has been conducted in a variety of settings. In the U.S. study has already improved school performance and attitudes toward schooling among American Indians. Some of the approaches undertaken in that work might be profitably applied to the Micronesian situation. The most ambitious and most successful efforts in analyzing the learning patterns of Pacific Islands children have been undertaken at the Kamehameha Schools for native Hawaiians. Study of mother-child interactions, sibling caretaking behavior, and children's natural and informal group interactional patterns have suggested a number of strategies for school class organization that improved children's learning and their attitudes toward school. Many of the behavior patterns that the Hawaii researchers have pointed out have parallels elsewhere in the Pacific, including Micronesia.

Salient among the cultural characteristics of the Micronesians is their reticence to put themselves forward and the value that they place on group harmony or consensus and on maintaining face in public. All of these suggest that the American pattern of individual questioning of one pupil from among a group; asking students to publically demonstrate knowledge of a subject; and classroom competition are highly inappropriate for the Micronesian setting. Strategies which permit students to employ the traditional Micronesian learning pattern of quiet observation, private trial and, finally, successful public imitation may prove successful for some tasks. Classroom interaction that requires individuals to risk public failure can be expected to cause great stress for Micronesian children, and non-participation may be the result.

Likewise singling out individuals for praise would be inappropriate in a culture in which achievements are not publically commented on, in fact sometimes denied out of politeness.

Several Micronesian educators have suggested alternative classroom interactional patterns that draw upon Micronesian attitudes toward public behavior and toward knowledge and its use. Group answering, rather than selecting out individuals, has been successfully used in a number of schools. Indirect questioning has also been advocated. The Micronesian concept of knowledge suggests that knowledge is a private, not a public attribute. In many societies in the region elders and chiefs are respected in part because they possess unique information. An elder passes his wisdom on to his chosen successor only very gradually and partially; the full information is often not transmitted until the deathbed. A young man aspiring to a leadership position is tested on his ability to piece together the whole from the parts he has been given. This suggests an indirect, perhaps circular questioning approach, rather than the linear, direct method that is the basis for the scientific mode of thinking that underlies Western thought. It further implies that students may not be eager to demonstrate all that they know before others and also that individuals should not be put into a position where they are revealed to know less than is demanded.

The separation of learning from everyday activities has been documented in certain Micronesian cultures' tradition of special boys' and girls' "clubs" and apprenticeship for certain skilled work, but generally acquisition of necessary knowledge and skills takes place as a part of the routine of observation and imitation of older children's and adults' activities. It is unlikely that Micronesians will readily accept schooling which does not appear to have any immediate value in their normal range of activities. Teaching which combines in-class and in-community work might be useful in drawing parallels between abstract knowledge and its potential applications.

Interpersonal relationshps among Micronesians are structured somewhat differently than those among Westerners. Gender differences are far more salient in some areas of Micronesia, making coeducation difficult. Brother-sister relations may be particularly strained when they are placed in the same classroom. Childrearing is not solely a duty of parents in most Micronesian societies. Other relatives, e.g., aunts, grandparents, may have equal responsibility. Direct childcare may be conducted by older siblings; these duties are their initiation into adult responsibility. Rising responsiblity is an indication of increasing respect, so that removing older children's roles in direction of their younger siblings or cousins may well be construed as indicating lack of confidence in their abilities. Classroom structures that permit younger children to learn under direction of older students might be particularly appropriate for Micronesian schools, for this pattern would instill confidence and respect in the older children and offer the younger a chance to learn separate from the oversight of adults.

Adult education requires careful planning so that respected community members are not infantalized and disgraced. In communities in which the young are being offered schooling that their leaders have not experienced, introduction of information to adults may be especially critical, if the leaders are not to suffer dislocation and shame before the young. This age relationship also suggests the importance of explicity valuing traditional knowledge and skills, so that the educated younger people are not alienated from their communities.

Group, rather than individual, responsiblity is the basis of Micronesian community life. Schools might use this structure to enhance learning and, simultaneously, socialize children to function in the traditional lifeways. As is clear from the sections above, certain of the values of Western society conflict with traditional Micronesian morals and beliefs. Whereas Americans stress individual rights and assert personal opinion, the Micronesian island cultures have thrived on a principle of group harmony and consensus. Americans' focus on the importance of egalitarianism and personal mobility do not mesh with the Micronesian emphasis on respect for elders and superiors and the importance of fitting into one's place in a well-defined, immutable community structure. In a confined and static community, conformity, not dissent is valued. Ponapean parents, for example, have complained that their children have become disrespectful and irresponsible through acquisition of American values. One group stated that the young people translated the English word "freedom" as the Ponapean "nsenei", meaning that it is up to the person, you can do what you want, rather than as "saledek", the adult freedom of maturity with responsibility. Certainly the latter was intended, for it is the basis of the American concept of democracy. Translation and transmission of cultural knowledge requires care and sensitivity on both directions.

The information now available on Micronesian cultures offers significant, but scattered insights for educators. Only a few studies have been undertaken which focus specifically on education in the islands and they have been largely historical, rather than observational. Models for educational ethnographic study suggest ways of transforming native apprenticeship systems, socialization practices, and communicational structures into effective classroom pedagogies. However, more detailed study of contemporary relations, in urban centers and on outer-islands, is required before educational programs can be planned specifically for Micronesian culture groups. The following areas suggest themselves for cultural research:

- Early childhood training of young children and the social and personal context in which childrearing is conducted.
- Indigenous learning structures, including teaching methods and learning networks.
- Structure of interpersonal and intergroup relations; patterns of respect and authority; verbal and nonverbal communicational patterns.

- Uses to which school learning have been put by the community; actual practice of reading, writing, mathematics, scientific method; educational needs as perceived by the community.

- Native systems of knowledge, including the categories of knowledge that are respected, and the special information that resides among particular subgroups within the community, e.g., among women.

- Models for behavior which govern public and private behavior and the means by which they are instilled; values for responsibility, group cohesion, and conflict resolution; fundamental moral precepts and modes of enforcement.

- Political constructs governing individual and group decisionmaking.

- Orientation to change and external intervention; attitudes toward education.

- Attitudes toward work and work practices for individuals and groups; personal and community ambitions and goals.

All of these aspects of culture should be taken into account in educational planning. Each Micronesian state will make its own decisions--perhaps at a local, community level--which to emphasize, the old or the new, and how they can be integrated so that Micronesians can fit into their own, new and old, changing world. There is a pressing need for assessment of effective schooling techniques throughout Micronesia and an equally urgent need for development of curricular materials that are specific to the Micronesian culture and which place global affairs in a Micronesian perspective. Recently there has been some progress toward a Micronesia-based curriculum, primarily in the social sciences, and also at least one "Micronesian Mathematics" text. This work will call for cooperative endeavors among the several American Micronesian states, but will also require that materials be tailored to the specific needs of the state and communities with whom they are to be used.

Education and Language. The figures in Table IV (next page) indicate the plethora of distinct languages that are spoken in Micronesia today. There are also other, smaller language communities and dialectal variants that are not listed in the census figures, but are critical cultural markers. Outside of Guam, only one percent of American Micronesians indicate that English is their language of choice for personal use, despite decades of English language-based universal education. Clearly, language variety is an integral part of Micronesian group identity and this diversity is likely to remain a part of the educational scene. In fact, the break-up of the TTPI into four distinct political entities has

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TABLE FOUR: LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME

		MICRONESIAN LANGUAGES													NON-MICRONESIAN LANGUAGES							
	ENGLISH	BELAUAN	CAROLINIAN	CHAMORRO	KOSRAEAN	MARSHALLESE	MORTLOCKESE	NORTHWEST SOLOMONIC - KAMPINGAMA-RANGI	PONAPEAN	TRUKESE	ULITHI - WOLEAIAN*	YAPESE	UNSPECIFIED MICRONESIAN**	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES	THAI	VIETNAMESE	SPANISH	OTHER
GUAM: 5 - 17 years	15,428	340	—	10,317	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	297	280	343	2,386	--	134	—	--
over 17 years	17,754	678	—	21,717	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	768	1,464	1,209	13,101	272	222	697	636
NORTHERN MARIANAS:																					
5 - 17 years	205	209	718	3,766	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	107	--	—	—	--
Over 17 years	505	329	992	4,750	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--	169	—	1,298	--	—	—	--
MARSHALLS:																					
5 - 17 years	222	—	—	—	—	10,019	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
over 17 years	170	—	—	—	—	12,283	—	—	—	—	—	—	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
BELAU:																					
5 - 17 years	30	3,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
over 17 years	74	5,152	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	115	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
FSM - STATE TOTALS:																					
YAP 5 - 17 years	14	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	863	1,367	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	302
over 17 years	53	116	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,326	2,093	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	504
TRUK 5 - 17 years	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,411	—	—	10,777	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	964
over 17 years	62	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,948	—	—	14,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,428
PONAPE 5 - 17 years	40	—	—	—	—	—	890	513	269	5,452	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	608
over 17 years	83	—	—	—	—	—	1,107	696	547	6,743	—	122	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	708
KOSRAE 5 - 17 years	2	—	—	--	—	—	--	--	—	--	—	--	--	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
over 17 years:	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	--
FSM TOTALS 5 - 17 years	87	84	—	—	1,947	—	890	1,924	269	5,452	10,777	863	1,367	--	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,874
over 17 years	205	116	—	—	2,360	—	1,107	2,644	547	6,743	14,000	1,448	2,093	—	--	--	—	--	—	—	2,640
TOTALS:																					
5 - 17 years	15,972	4,513	718	14,083	1,947	10,019	890	1,924	269	5,452	10,777	946	1,367	--	297	280	343	2,493	--	134	—	1,874
over 17 years	18,708	6,275	992	26,467	2,360	12,283	1107	2,644	547	6,743	14,000	1,561	2,093	97	768	1,633	1,209	14,399	272	222	697	3,276
All Speakers	34,680	10,788	1,710	40,550	4,307	22,302	1,997	4,568	816	12,195	24,777	2,509	3,460	97	1,065	1,913	1,552	16,892	272	356	697	5,150

* Includes Sonsorol-Tobi
** Primarily Gilbertese
DATA: 1980 U.S. Census Of Population

lessened the immediate importance of English as a lingua franca, at least in the Northern Marianas, the Marshalls and Belau. In each of three regions the predominant language (two languages in NMI) can be used for the vast majority of the population. The new post-TTPI constitutions call for an indigenous language to be used for official capacities, a shift away from the English-only policy of the Trust Territory administration.

The school systems of the various states are departing, to some extent, from the English-only policy as well. Under the TTPI administration native languages were permitted in grades one to three, with English study a major part of the curriculum, so that transition to English as the language of instruction could take place by grade four. In Guam English is the medium of instruction. This policy has never been fully carried out, since the English abilities of the pupils--and often of the teachers--were not adaquate for learning to take place. Secondary and higher education will continue to require either English or one of the more common Micronesian languages, since these schools draw upon students from a variety of language backgrounds. However, there is increasing call for native language curriculum materials, both from the larger populations, such as Belauans and Chamorros, and from the small language minority groups. The question of language of instruction, government, and public affairs will play an important role in educational debate in the coming years.

Language has already appeared as a major issue in the movements for ethnic identity that arose concommitant with the region-wide debates on future political status. In Guam it has taken on the form of a Chamorro revival and preservation movement. Guam is the only Micronesian state in which the majority of indigenous young people report preference for English. The decline of Chamorro has been rapid in the past generation. Adults in 1980 preferred Chamorro to English 22,000 to 18,000, but their children preferred English to Chamorro 15,000 to 10,000. Guam has already undertaken Chamorro bilingual and bilingual/bicultural education projects, whose aim has sometimes included the re-introduction of Chamorro to predominantly English-speaking children, as well as the training of Chamorro-speaker in English. Chamorro-language curriculum materials are also under development. The Northern Marianas have conducted bilingual and bicultural programs in Chamorro and Carolinian, which the overwhelming majority of their young people still speak actively. A related English language educational problem is the prevalance of non-standard varieties of English, already noted as an obstacle to Guamanians' higher educations.

With such a large number of distinct languages and such small communities of speakers, it will be difficult to reconcile the desire for native language materials with the cost of their production. While the American policy of English-only schooling quite clearly will not continue to dominate Micronesian education, especially at the elementary levels, neither does wholesale translation or creation of entire curricula for each language community appear to be a realistic prospect.

Inter-community and inter-state cooperation will alleviate some of the costs, e.g., if the Chamorro-language materials are shared and adapted for both Guam and the Northern Marianas. Still the language problem suggests that more creative methods of curriculum development are called for. One approach worth study is development of curricula that depend upon the oral, rather than literate orientation of Micronesian cultures. Audio-visual materials might be devloped in which narration can be dubbed in a variety of languages, easily and inexpensively. Advanced technology for translation should also be investigated.

The schools can also make use of an abundant resource--the native speakers of the various languages in which classes are conducted or which are used to augment instruction. Bringing adults from the community into the classroom increases local interest in the schools and also enables elders to assist in teaching using traditonal oral methods of transmission. Apprenticeship approaches may not require the extensive written materials that characterize the formal classroom; oral literature can be studied and recorded, thus creating materials. Some methods for oral approaches have been developed, for example, with American Indian tribes; further research on the applicability of oral and audio-visual techniques to Micronesian education is merited.

Education and Change. Micronesian educators face a difficult mandate. They must develop educational systems that are responsive to the unique characteristics of the constitutent cultural communities, that support continuance of traditional lifeways, and that channel their populations in viable economic directions which are still consistent with traditional values. The former TTPI states are educating the first generation of young people who will be trained for self-governance. The next decades will be politically as well as economically and culturaly challenging for all the Micronesian states. Western notions of government are only partially understood by the general population. Implications of massive infusion of material goods into a subsistence economy have only recently become clear. Traditional patterns of self-sufficiency and interdependence must be encouraged once more and adapted to the cash economy. But these are all only components of a more fundamental educational challenge.

The Micronesian experience in the past hundred years has been one of continual, inexplicable, and unmotivated change. Colonial regimes have come and gone, each imposing a new set of principles that the indigenous peoples were instructed to adopt as the sole truth. Under American administration there has been neglect, then cultural dislocation, and now partial withdrawl. This recent history contrasts radically with native Micronesian concepts and expectations which were developed in highly isolated, stable, and internally consistent communities. Now educators must train young people not for immutability, but for the fact of change. Secularization and urbanization are proceeding apace, altering the most basic structures of family and community. In urban centers intercultural contact--once occasioned by a rare canoe visit from a neighboring people--is a part of the daily scene. In the midst of all

this apparently uncontrollable change, Micronesians must come to be arbiters of their own fate, in a world which they have entered only in this lifetime.

The underlying challenge to Micronesian educational planners and practitioners is to teach skills that will enable the present adults and children to select wisely among a virtually unlimited range of life choices. As individuals, Micronesians can select lives that vary from traditional subsistence in the context of a tiny community of family and clan, partaking in the communal economy and following the precepts of the village elders, to migration to cash economy and isolated, self-directed life in a district center, an urbanized area such as Guam, or even the United States. As societies, Micronesians face even more complex decisions. States, districts, and individual villages will be confronted with decisions about their long-term futures. Should they encourage industrial or commercial development? Can a specific project be tailored to suitability with the native cultural environment? Should they scale their activities to their existing populations and its interests and skills, or should they plan for a more populous, more ethnically diverse future? Is Westernization and industrialization the only route to an economically and socially sound future? Who should decide these questions?

Micronesian leaders are pursuing ways of creating thoughtful, future-oriented plans for their societies. There has been attention directed to understanding the images of the world and of the roles of humans in affecting the course of events as they are represented in traditional conceptual systems. One state has already conducted research into attitudes among its population about the future and the role they see themselves playing in it. One generalization that emerges everywhere is a attitude of fatalism, of the impossibility of individual or society directing the course of its own future.

The value of planning and an orientation toward the future are fundamental aspects of modern thought. In order to choose among the many options now open to them, Micronesians will require education to enhance their understanding of the basic concepts upon which modern political and economic decisionmaking are based. A number of topics might shape Micronesian curricula that would foster this transition to change- and future-oriented thinking:

- A concept of history that places the Micronesian experience into a time perspective in relation to other communities, demonstrates the evolution of societies over time, and develops the principle of change by design and illustrates human will as a factor in determining events.

- Political education in the principles of participatory government as an instrument of common will; the political party system as a dynamic, policy formulating structure; and the federal system as an evolutionary and adaptive structure. In the FSM, for example, the balance between

the central and the state authorities will have to be developed over time, through legislation and judicial precedent, with mutual confidence in the direction of that evolution. Also important are the concepts of contractual obligations, which one may choose to enter into, or not, and written codes of law which, once agreed to, are not subject to major exemptions.

- Information systems, especially the importance of feedback structures in heirarchical decisionmaking patterns. This would apply directly to the Micronesian need to balance opinions prevailing in centers of administration with the villages on the perifery, which usually embody the traditional belief system and lifeways more wholistically. The conception of systems as dynamic, not static structures is more like pre-contact Micronesian political organization than the colonial administrative systems that were put into place.

- Application of a scientific attitude to political, economic, and social contexts; a view of society as the product of human action and intention. Structures for discussion of alternative futures are just developing in the U.S.; they might be usefully applied in Micronesia. Major economic developments, for example, will not be successful unless all parties--governmental authorities, leaders and residents of affected communities, and the populace as a whole--can give informed consent, based on the implications for change in the nature of their economy, environment, and community structure that will follow, both from approval of development and denial of approval.

- The ethnographic point of view that analyzes all cultures as equivalently complex, unique expressions of their participants' interactions with the natural and social environment. The critical importance of a conception of culture and cross-cultural differences is obvious for Micronesians' relations with the U.S. and with other industrialized nations, but is also a factor in intra-Micronesian relations as well. The peoples of Micronesia will need sophistication in cross-cultural communications and the ability to shift comfortably among a wide variety of cultural contexts. Part of a change orientation is the ability to accept and adapt to a variety of settings, while maintaining a clear sense of self and of role within shifting contexts.

The traditional cultures of Micronesia are well adapted to the islands' natural environment and embody social patterns of interdepence, cooperation, and harmony that are the goal, and envy, of cultures around the world. The structures of comlex, modern society--elective political systems, cash economies, industrial development, long-distance communication and travel--are being adapted for the Micronesian setting. Education in Micronesia must supply the bridge.

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